DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 023 014 AC 002 655

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Men-in-Transition, A Study of Adult Male Undergraduates at Wayne State University, 1967.

Wayne State Univ., Detroit, Mich. Monteith Coll.
Pub Date 67
Note-47p.
EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$2.45
Descriptors-Adult Characteristics, *Adult Counseling, *Adult Students, Age Groups, *Career Planning, Information Needs, Information Services, Learning Motivation, *Males, Mobility, Questionnaires, *Undergraduate Study
Identifiers-Wayne State University

Because the bulk of professional attention to middle-age change has concentrated on women, and because there is a need for data on differences in career options and alternatives between men and women, a study focused on the process of adult development, men-in-transition and adults experiencing discontinuity. Data were collected by means of (1) a questionnaire returned by 322 of the 420 male students 35 and over enrolled as undergraduates at Wayne State University in 1967, (2) semistructured group interviews with eight men which explored the reasons for change and stresses involved, and (3) a discussion between two panels of eight men of the role of counselors and educators in working with adults. The adult male returning to college is about 40, a part-time student working for a degree, probably in liberal arts or, if not that, in education or business administration. There is a need for further study of the adult as a learner and for more comprehensive models of adult development which include provisions for self-exploration taking place all through life. Reassessment of academic requirements and bureaucratic processes to encourage rather than discourage college attendance by adults is needed. Separate adult counseling centers should be established. (The document includes 33 references, 12 tables, the questionnaire, and an occupation code) (aj)

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MEN-IN-TRANSITION:
A STUDY OF ADULT MALE UNDERGRADUATES AT WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY, 1967

Nancy K. Schlossberg

ED023014

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MEN-IN-TRANSITION:
A STUDY OF ADULT MALE UNDERGRADUATES
AT WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY, 1967

I THE STUDY

This study can best be described by two refrains: "What if" and "If only." "What if:" I had gone to college, moved to another city for that new job, not dropped out of high school. "If Only:" I had not married so young, had not wasted my money on drinking, had studied harder. The world is filled with people characterized by "If only" and "What if." They have been studied, analyzed, and made the subject of novels and plays.

This study is about men who are in the process of changing their "What ifs" and "If onlys" to "What can be." The men being studied are all 35 years of age or over and currently enrolled in an undergraduate program at Wayne State University. They are or should be our modern day heroes. They are the ones who despite many obstacles, are taking hold of and consciously shaping their own destinies. They are proving the thesis that one's destiny is not preordained but can be shaped and reshaped, even after the age when others might see such change as inappropriate or impossible.

This research reflects fascination with adult change and indicates the possibilities of such change. Possibly out of reaction to the mythology that all is determined in the first years of life, and partly from the necessity of our fast-changing economy, I have chosen to study those people with the little likelihood of change who are, in fact, changing--men 35 and over.

Need for the study

This study deals with those male adults who are enrolled in undergraduate school for several related reasons. First, the bulk of professional attention to the phenomenon of middle-year change has concentrated on women. Among studies of adult career patterns very few have focused on men. A rare example is Edgar W. Mill's study "Career Change Among Ministers."[17]

A second reason to study men is the need to gather informed and professionally collected data on differences in career options and alternatives between men and women. Ginzberg argues, contrary to Betty Friedan and her followers who attempt to evoke sympathy for the woman's plight, that educated women have more choices and options available to them than men.[8] Women can enter, leave, reenter the labor market and in the public eye, be considered "interesting." The man who engages in prolonged role exploration, on the other hand, is more often considered neurotic, confused, and unmasculine. An example comes to mind of some data which indicates that while women can prefer the male role in a test situation, males rarely choose the female role. A possible explanation of this dichotomy may be found in the much harsher penalities for men who deviate from their perceived role expectancies.[5] Further evidence of this can be found in Neugarten's study of middle-class, middle-agers' firmly held notions and constraints about age appropriate behaviors. For example, 74% of the men studied and 64% of the women agreed

that "men should be settled on a career" by 24 or 25 years of age.[18] In describing the ambivalence inherent in every social role, Alice Rossi in a mimeographed paper "The Roots of Ambivalence in American Women" points out that negative feelings about a role can be admitted only to the degree that the role is optional. Thus, since women have options about work, they can discuss, ruminate and bore people about their work conflicts. Men have no choice but to work. Thus, their negative feelings about their work role are not allowed expression and might take other forms.[20]

Myron Brenton writes in his impressionistic, readable but unscholarly book, The American Male, that "the day looms when it will be the norn for every American male to have three or four different careers."[2] If mobility in occupation becomes an axiomatic and individual imperative, yet age norms act as real deterrents to such change then it would seem that this study might have implications for economics, psychology, and sociology as well as the disciplines more traditionally associated with education. Concentration in this survey will focus on both social structure and individual motivation. Individuals unafraid to change and willing to explore new identities and new-life-styles can do so only in ways defined by the social system.

A further reason for studying these men is that they are in the process of transforming rather than contemplating or remembering a transition. This can provide us with insights into the uncertainties, ambivalences, and the stresses and strengths experienced by an adult actually going against the mainstream. We might find clues to better understanding those who can and those who cannot transform, change, or progress. Thus, my concern is with the male who refuses to "stay put," who feels he can still explore and who

in fact, is exploring. In fact, some pschologists are suggesting that a middle age crisis is part of the orderly developmental process.

The topic of middle years is generating interest and notice. A variety of factors--some social, others personal and economic--are converging to make the topic of adult men-in-transition an informative, lively topic for research. This has implication for modifying our current developmental models in order to account for continous career and self-reexploration. For example, Columbia University has a "New Careers Program" for a small number of successful businessmen and women who want to change from lucrative jobs to service jobs. An example is an interior designer turned placement director for the Job Corps. In describing the program, Alan Entine, its director, commented on the fact that even though very few adults were actually in the program over 7000 inquiries were received during the last year.[6]

Harper and Row has just published a lively, popular book, The Middle-Age Crisis.[7] The very nature of the book indicates general fascination with the middle years. More scholarly is a discussion in the Journal of Gerentology[9] of the "Second Careers as a Sociological Concept".

To summarize, many ways exist to study adult development. Focusing on adults-in-transition -- that is adults experiencing discontinuity -- is suggested as a way to better understand the process of adult development. To use Anslem Strauss' words, we want to "capture the open-ended, tentative, explanatory, hypothetical, problematical, devious, changeable, and only partly unified character of human courses of action."[27]

Explanation for adult change

Two basic explanations for change in adults undergird the propositions set forth in this study. One relates to the psychological makup of a person and the other to the social context in which the person operates. The psychological propulsion for normal adults functioning to change can be best understood by Robert White's competence model. In his many years of studying human growth and development, Robert White of Harvard has been struck by the inadequacy of current models designed to explain change and growth. "The missing link...is the persistent tendency to become fat, more competent."[33] But this drive to become and feel more competent can only be realized in a social context which allows it. The notion of joining the competency drive inherent in all people to particular social contexts which offer differing options for development is really just another way of insisting on the marriage between sociology and psychology as explanations for change.

For example, if state laws prohibit women from doing certain kinds of work, they cannot achieve in this area. This framework helps us only to the extent that it enables us to ask the appropriate questions. To test the framework, it is proposed that we think about, look at, talk about adults-in-transition; that is, those people who have changed or reversed a "generally irreversible pattern." Or to put it another way, let us look at people who experience discontinuity changing radically their internal and external frame of reference and environment. This might enable us to test out the competence and context theory. Although this study is based on small numbers, it hopefully will illustrate the degree to which adults can learn, grow, change, reverse patterns. The adult as learner, as changer deserves special attention.

Methodology

All male students 35 or over enrolled in any of the Wayne State University Colleges were studied. The sample is purposely limited to men, for their career patterns are very different from those of women. The sample is further limited to adult men in undergraduate school to insure that those studied really are making significant transitions. The adult male in graduate school is the more usual phenomenon. The sample of men-in-transition was studied by the following steps:

1) A two-page questionnaire was mailed to the entire population of adult men 35 and over enrolled in undergraduate school in order to ferret out those who fit into the category of males-in-transition, and to obtain quantitative data. The men surveyed were all enrolled in the Spring quarter 1967. The total number of male undergraduates was 10,696 with 611 being 35 or over. Of the 611, 420 represented all these undergraduates who were not post degree students. Three hundred and twenty-two men (322) returned questionnaires providing the data for the following analysis. (See Appendix).

2) Eight men from the sample were selected for group interviews as a way to obtain qualitative data on adult males. The interviews were semi-structured and focused on the perceived reasons and stresses involved in change.

3) Two panels of men (eight men) were engaged in front of counselors. The men interacting with counselors provided information of the role of counselors and educators in working with adults.

II ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

The questions asked of the men were intended to elicit introductory data; that is, data which introduces a new topic and opens up the possibility of a new group needing study.

The quantitative data while informative and instructive, are overshadowed by the nature of the many unsolicitated comments. Actually eighty-seven men offered commments which ranged from "you are the first person to take an interest in someone like me," to "if I can be of further help please let me know," to specific suggestions about needed changes. The point needs emphasis: the men surveyed were cooperative and hopeful that university life could be made better for them. It is hoped that this plea on their part will not be lost in the tables, percentages and averages which follow.

The results are presented through tables and comments grouped in five sections:

1. Demographic data
2. Impact of education: mobility
3. Motivation to return to school
4. Reactions to age-status system
5. Recommended changes and services

Demographic data

How old are these men, what is their academic status, what college do they attend, when did they decide to return to college? These are the questions answered in the following tables.

Table I
AGE OF MEN IN UNDERGRADUATE COURSES AT WAYNE

AGE	NUMBER OF MEN	PER CENT
35 - 40 years	168	52%
41 - 50 years	118	37%
51 - 60 years	36	11%
Total	322	100%

As would be expected the largest group is the youngest group. Comments on the questionnaires indicate that in spite of today's potentially longer life span, many see thirty-five as a half way mark. At this point it is possible to look forward to a probable twenty-five years of work, generally the most productive. The group surveyed can therefore assess the present in terms of the future.

That 37% of the men are between ages forty-one and fifty, however, points to continuing self-exploration. The oldest group, aged fifty-one to sixty, represents 11% of the population. This group is particularly noteworthy for in a large sense they are pioneers by continuing to reassess their goals and aspirations at a time many men have settled for the status quo.

Table II
ACADEMIC STATUS OF STUDENTS

STATUS	NUMBER OF MEN	PER CENT
Full time	29	9%
Part time	291	90%
Not given	2	1%
Total	322	100%

Surprising is the fact that 9% of the men surveyed are carrying a full time study load which means at least twelve hours of work per quarter. In spite of personal, economic or social difficulties which must accompany such a schedule, 29 men obviously feel it is worth the departure from the established norm.

Ninety per cent of the men are part time students, carrying one or two courses totaling from three to eight hours per week. Many hours must be added for class preparation, and like the men above, this work is done in addition to holding full time jobs. Is it obvious to assume that the competency drive and need for continued self-exploration is strong in all of them?

Table III
DEGREE CANDIDATES

STATUS	NUMBER OF MEN	PER CENT
Working toward degree	283	88%
Not working for degree	27	8%
Not given	12	4%
	322	100%

Eighty-eight per cent of the men over thirty-five years of age are working for undergraduate degrees. A few have degrees in other areas and for personal or economic reasons are working for a second undergraduate degree. Whatever else it indicates, the fact that many are working for a degree certainly points to the widely acknowledged necessity of holding a degree as tangible evidence of a certain status in our society.

Table IV
COLLEGE ATTENDED BY MEN

COLLEGE	NUMBER	PER CENT
Liberal Arts (including Monteith)	153	47%
Education	61	19%
Business Administration	61	19%
Engineering	31	10%
Nursing	1	--
Pharmacy	1	--
Mortuary Science	1	--
Not given	13	4%
Total	322	100%

It is particularly interesting in terms of the thesis of self-exploration to find by far the largest percentage of men, 47%, enrolled in the College of Liberal Arts. Liberal Arts is not necessarily the avenue to more money or specific job promotion. In fact, the complaint of the younger Liberal Arts undergraduates is that they are equipped to do nothing after graduation. One factor which might explain this high liberal arts enrollment is the police

administration program in which policemen are given the opportunity to return to school. The police department pays the tuition, but does not give men time for class and study. This is an example of transition resulting from combined internal (man's desire) and external factors (police program). However, only forty-four men were in this program, so even if this number is subtracted from the total, the largest number of men is still in the Liberal Arts program.

It is possible that a greater number might be enrolled in the College of Education if, as is suggested by three men, there could be some adjustment of the requirements of teacher certification for those employed full time. In other words taking time from a full time job to fulfill student teaching assignments is out of the question. It is interesting to find the same number of men enrolled in education as in business administration. A number of comments with regard to more adjustable engineering courses in the evening raises the question whether there might be more men enrolled in that college if the courses were more adaptable to supposed current needs. Certainly if reappraisal of direction at this age were only toward more money a larger number would be registered in business administration.

Table V

YEAR AT WHICH MEN RETURNED TO SCHOOL

YEAR OF FIRST COURSE	NUMBER OF MEN	PER CENT
Before 1930	1	
1930 - 40	18	6%
1941 - 50	81	25%
1951 - 60	77	24%
1961 - 67	123	38%
Not answered	22	7%
Total	322	

As would be expected the largest percentage of men (38%) returned to school in the present decade. This understandably results from the increasing emphasis on the importance of college education and acceptance of the adult student as an intergral part of the student body. Of course, it is impossible to underestimate the impetus given by industry to obtain that "piece of paper", the necessary gateway to so many jobs. Thirty-one per cent took their first course seventeen to thirty-seven years ago! From discussions we find that those who continue their studies for so many years do so as a way to enrich lives made barren by unhappy family situations or deadening daily employment as well as those who are enriching mature relationships.

Impact of education: mobility

Patricia Salter West, in Class, Status, Power[32] states that education is becoming a prerequisite for class placement;... "college education has become simply a badge of eligibility for the 20th century white collar world." Thus education has become a much more valuable resource and a more vital factor in the distribution of power and privilege than ever before in history. Individual life is determined by occupation which in turn is determined largely by educational opportunities. Occupation determines the prestige and the money. Thus, money becomes the "significant link between people".[10] In other words, occupation produces the income which produces the way of life by which people rate each other.

It seemed crucial, therefore, to test out the assumption that education and upward mobility go hand-in-hand. By seeing if the adult men who return to school beyond the time when this is usually done have experienced the expected upward mobility. Analysis of the questions relating to fathers' and sons' occupations were troublesome to analyze. It is interesting to note the ease with which text books discuss mobility but the difficulty encountered when classifying data into managable categories. After examining the Dictionary of Occupation Titles, the North-Hatt Scale and others it was decided to utilize a code developed by the Center for Urban Research, University of Michigan, Dearborn campus. This scale is basically an adaptation of the United States Census Occupational Code. Fathers were classified by occupation into upper white collar, lower white collar, upper blue collar and lower blue collar. Sons were classified in like manner. Tables VI and VII schematize the data.

Although the other tables in the study represent the answeres of 322 men, Table VI and VII are confined to the responses of 250 men. Seventy-two questionnaires were not valid because the father's occupation had been omitted. Phone calls made to 10 men chosen at random ascertained two reasons for this ommission; namely, that the father was dead or had been retired for some time so the question did not seem of current importance to the respondent.

The United States Census Code includes police officers with protective service workers. In view of the fact that the officers in this study were in teaching or administrative roles, it was arbitrarily decided to classify them with the administrative and managerial group rather than with the protective service workers. Thus, the police officers are classified as upper white collar rather than lower blue collar workers. Although this decision tends to weight the study slightly in the direction of upward mobility, it was felt to be a more accurate picture of the true situation of the growing status attached to these occupations.

Table VI
UPWARD MOBILITY TREND CONFIRMED: CURRENT JOB OF RESPONDENT IN RELATION TO FATHER'S JOB

	Total	Upper White	Lower White	Upper Blue	Lower Blue
Father's Occupational Level				Respondent's Occupational Level	
Upper White Collar	53(21%)	44(18%)	3(1%)	4(1%)	2(1%)
Lower White Collar	36(14%)	30(12%)	5(2%)	1	
Upper Blue Collar	65(26%)	52(21%)	6(2%)	5(2%)	2(1%)
Lower Blue Collar	96(38%)	67(28%)	6(2%)	9(3%)	14(6%)
Total	250	193(77%)	20(8%)	19(7%)	18(7%)

In Table VI the total number of fathers in each category appears in the first column. The diagonal line blocks off those whose occupational status remains the same as their father's, therefore forty-four upper white collar; 5 lower white collar; 5 upper blue and 14 lower blue. The numbers above the diagonal line indicate the amount of downward mobility, in all a total of 12, those below the diagonal line reveal the big increase in upward mobility, in all 170 men. Thus 27% show no change, a mere 5% show downward mobility and, confirming the known trend, 68% show upward mobility.

Another way of visualizing the mobility data contained in Table VI would be to group all those whose mobility patterns is similar.

Table VII
UPWARD MOBILITY TREND CONFIRMED: CHANGE IN OCCUPATIONAL STATUS BETWEEN FATHER AND SON
N. 250

UPWARD MOBILITY	NUMBER OF MEN
Lower Blue Collar to Upper Blue Collar	9
Lower Blue Collar to Lower White Collar	6
Lower Blue Collar to Upper White Collar	67
Upper Blue Collar to Lower White Collar	6
Upper Blue Collar to Upper White Collar	52
Lower White Collar to Upper White Collar	30
Total	170
DOWNWARD MOBILITY	
Upper White Collar to Lower White Collar	3
Upper White Collar to Upper Blue Collar	4
Upper White Collar to Lower Blue Collar	2
Lower White Collar to Upper Blue Collar	1
Upper Blue Collar to Lower Blue Collar	2
Total	12
NO CHANGE	
Upper White Collar	44
Lower White Collar	5
Upper Blue Collar	5
Lower Blue Collar	14
Total	68

Motivation to return

Motivation to return to school is obviously the crucial question. Why do some men return past the age when it is "acceptable to do so?" What factors blocked their return during the college-age years?

Several authors discuss and describe the elusive concept of motivation. A brief review might offer a framework for viewing the data presented in Table VIII. Raymond Kuhlen differentiates two major motivating forces which determine the direction in which particular adults develop. One set he calls "growth-expansion motives"; the other set he describes as "anxiety and threat--as sources of motivation". Any individual experiences both types of motivating factors. Certain situations and internal experiences lead one to expand, change, grow. Other situations produce restriction, defensiveness,and protectiveness. Although Kuhlen points out that "growth-expansion"motives dominate the beginning of adulthood, and anxiety and threat crop up in later adulthood, this obviously varies with each individual. Educators need to encourage "growth-expansion motivators."

Haug and Sussman developed a useful construct for explaining adult career swithches. The authors write, "personal, social, and work system characteristics create "push" and "pull" phenomena... [9] That is certain aspects of an imagined new situation pulled them into a second career while their current situation pushed them out. For example, certain fields are characterized by early retirement. This would be a "push" factor. One set of factors pushes men out; another pulls them in.

Sheffield analized what he termed the learning orientations of adults. He defined this as "the major principle which gives meaning and direction to the continuing learning act".[23] Sheffield uncovered five major learning orientations which he labeled: (1) the learning orientation (yearning for knowledge), (2) socialbility, (3) personal goal (gain recognition, upgrade job competency), (4) social goal (contribute to common good--community), (5) need fulfillment (seek relief from bordedom).

Thus, we see many possible approaches to understanding the question--why do certain groups return to school. Two questions in this study dealt with the main events which motivated the men's return to school and the reasons which in the past had prevented it. The replies formed an easily visible grouping under the following five headings: Job, Family Situation, Exposure to Education, Personal, and finally Political and Social Forces. Naturally, the categories overlap; but the replies have been placed under the item estimated to be the most dynamic. Since some of the men gave more than one reason of equal importance, the total number of replies exceeds the number of men interviewed. These categories are reminiscent of those described by Sheffield, but also relate to Kuhlen's two major forces.

Table VIII
MEN'S STATED REASONS FOR RETURNING TO SCHOOL
N. 322

REASONS FOR RETURN TO SCHOOL		PAST DETERRENTS TO RETURNING TO SCHOOL	
	JOB		
dvancement,importance of degree	125	Financial	91
hange of job situation,retirement	53	Time	57
ecurity	34	Satisfaction with job,income	6
ncouragement by employers,financial etc.	19	Transfers	4
or more money	9	Desire to earn money	1
otal	240		159
	FAMILY SITUATION		
or own sake and influence of family	22	Family demands: Time, money	67
ess responsibility in all areas	14	Wife's lack of interest	1
esire to improve social contacts	4	Father's death	1
otal	40		69
	EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES		
ssociation with people studying	15	Lack of guidance; family & school	40
ocation,courses offered by Wayne	6	Unaware of importance of education; indifference to, contempt for	27
rofessional conventions	2		
ocational rehabilitation	1	Unfavorable circumstances;Courses and location	9
eaching an adult class	1		
ptitude testing	1	Ignorance of college requirements	8
raining Program	1	Ignorance of opportunities	8
earing speech by man with two degrees	1	Problems with learning in school	7
aking one course	1	Not needed for job advancement	5
ossibility of getting a degree	1	Discouraged by language demands	3
		Foreign degree not accepted	1
		Going to electronics school	1
otal	30		109

Table VIII(cont.)

PERSONAL			
Self improvement, satisfaction, desire to learn	58	Insecurity, fear of failure	31
Ambition, finish something already begun	15	Time spent in social, political children's school activities	13
Do something constructive, worthwhile	13	Laziness, lack of ambition	12
Recognized need for continuing education	11	Bad Health, fatigue	4
Psychological (gaining confidence, age boredom, alcholism)	10	Too old	1
		Language problem	1
Total	107		62
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL FORCES			
GI Bill	4	War	24
Supreme Court Decisions	2	Not expected that people in his area would go to college	1
Armed Services	2		
John F. Kennedy as President	2		
New employment opportunities for Negroes	1		
Immigration	1		
Poor TV programs	1		
Total	12		25

The following table rank orders the motivators and deterrents. The job factors--advancement, retirement, security--comprise the big push to return to school. This is similar to Sheffield's personal goal orientation and can be understood by Kuhlen's typology as both a push to expand and as a defense against possible loss. That is, men 35 and over begin to realize that this is their "last chance" to move ahead occupationally and to change careers or prepare for retirement. An example, comes to mind of a man in business who will retire in ten years. He is afraid about this imposed leisure so as both a defense against future loss and a growth expanding activity he is studying in order to become a community college teacher.

Table IX
Rank Order of Motivators and Deterrents
for Men Returning to School (Based on Table VIII)

MOTIVATORS	NUMBER	DETERRENTS	NUMBER
Job	240	Job	159
Personal	107	Lack of educational opportunity	109
Family situation	40	Family situation	69
Educational opportunities	30	Personal	62
Political and social forces	12	Political and social forces	25
Total	429		424

At first look, it might seem strange to note that job factors account for the major push-pull to return to school and also as the major constraint for further education. One man explained it by stating that he was learning "good money" at his job. It was not until he was in his late 30's that he realized education would enable him to work with his brains instead of his body and he had better make the change. Jobs keep men too busy to study; job advancement pushes men to study.

The second largest set of motivators cluster in the personal self-improvement area. Kuhlen explains this as the continued need for growth-expansion; White would discuss the inherent need in all to become more competent. Slotkin and Fried[7] imply that the middle-age crisis in men can lead to meaningless frenetic activities or can stimulate men to reexplore and begin on a more productive path.

Although personal factors were not given as major deterrents to continuing with education, special note should be made of the fact that thirty-one men stated that insecurity and fear of failure prohibited their return. It seems amazing that so many men could state this. How many more fear they could not make it?

Another major motivating cluster is the family. The family situation played a significant part in the reasons for not having returned earlier. Many men returned only when freed of family responsibilities. Several men commented that as their children reached college age, they received an impetus to seek additional education in order to keep up with their children and meet a personal desire to broaden horizons.

One man, a janitor for twenty years, returned to school and became a teacher largely at the insistence of his wife and daughter. Only one man blamed his wife's lack of interest for his failure to return earlier. It is evident that the interest and cooperation of members of the family are essential in this step to return to school not only because of the money and class time involved, but because of the additional time needed for class preparation and the possibility of future changes in job and personal growth which may result. At a group meeting with several men, one spoke of the enrichment of his relationship with his wife as a result of discussing his courses with her. Another had suggested that his wife take a course so as not to be alone the night he was at Wayne with the result that she too is now working for a degree. Men can fight academic barricades but not their wives!

It had been a premise that those men who returned to school did so when job, personal and family factors converged with changing and expanding opportunities. Surprising, then, was the finding that new opportunities played a minor role in pushing men to return. However, the lack of opportunity, the lack of guidance and the lack of knowledge about existing opportunities comprised the second largest set of factors deterring men from returning. Thus, it seems the opportunity structure is relevent as a motivator only when men have guidance and knowledge about it. That is, opportunities without awareness is meaningless.

An analysis of the variety of incidents which ingnited the spark to return once again underlines the fact that it is hard to estimate how far reaching an experience may be for a person if it comes at the time of convergence with other important factors. For example, a man with no degree reported that he suddenly realized when listening to a speaker who had two degrees that he might obtain one; or the sudden illumination that can come from a course or training program; or the conclusion that people taking courses are more interesting people; or the pressure from family; or the need to continue learning. In like manner, deterrents come in combination also.

Reactions to age-status system

Since one is categorized immediately in terms of age, age is a major determinent of one's status. To illustrate the degree to which the age-status system is deeply embedded in middle class America, Bernice Neugarten[18] asked a sample of adults their opinions of "age-appropriate behavior." Most of the respondents agreed that the "best age for people to finish school and go to work" is 20-22; that most men should be settled on a career "by 24-26"; and that "most men hold their top jobs" between 45-50.

In testing this notion out among this sample, the response to the question "Do you think most people would say you're too old to be in school?" produced 208 answers in the negative, or 65% who did not feel they were looked upon as too old for the role. Roughly one third, (109 men), however, did feel that others would consider them too old to be in school. Some of the basis for these feelings may be gleaned from the following tables.

Table X
THE BEST AGE FOR MEN TO GO TO COLLEGE

BEST AGE SELECTED BY RESPONDENTS	NUMBER	PER CENT
Under 21 years	179	56%
21 - 24 years	45	14%
25 - 29 years	25	8%
Over 30 years	3	
Any age	20	6%
After high school or service	16	5%
Other (i.e. dependent on maturity, etc.)	24	77%
Not given	10	3%
Total	322	99%

Referring back to the previous question, 65% stated that they thought that other people did not feel they were too old to be in college but 56% of these men responded that they felt the best age to go to college was under twenty-one years. It is not known whether they thought that in relation to their careers or self-exploration they would have been further along had they finished their college work earlier. One man who said he would always be enrolled in a course for his own personal development feels strongly that his children must go straight through and get a degree first. This could be a recognition of the importance of the undergraduate degree in today's world.

Furthermore, it is not indicated whether all these men would be in school now had they completed college at the usual time. This is probably an unanswerable question. An interesting area for further research might include an exploration of what these men thought they wanted to do by age twenty-one; what they might have done had college been a possibility and the direction they took because it was not and its relation to what is happening to them today.

The next largest group, 14%, felt that the years twenty-one to twenty-four were the best for attending college, the supposition being that some years of exploration and consequent maturing would be to advantage. Undoubtedly, the present draft consideration was a factor. However, 70% or almost three quarters of the group believe that college is best experienced by twenty-five years of age. A faint 6% stated that any age was the best age a striking contrast to their statement indicating they were not too old to be in college.

Table XI
THE BEST AGE FOR MEN TO SELECT A CAREER

BEST AGE SELECTED BY RESPONDENTS	NUMBER	PER CENT
Under 21 years	82	25%
21 - 24 years	60	19%
25 - 29 years	100	31%
Over 30	36	11%
Any age	7	2%
Not given	7	2%
Other (emotional maturity, responsibility etc.)	30	10%
Total	322	100%

Interestingly, it is in the next decade, thirty-five to forty years, that the largest number of men in this study falls. Again, the question must be raised: are their attitudes about early career decision an over-reaction to their seeming lateness in attending college. A large number of men cited the need for testing to help in the correct and early selection of vocational fields. One man is quoted as saying that "rather than a man picking a career, too often the career picks the man,"--a kind of decision by default. In other words, men, who at least in this century must spend a large part of their lives working, should be helped with the burden that society silently places upon them at an early age; "knowing what they want to do". There is tragedy as well as triumph written between the lines of the questionnaires.

Recommended changes and services

Discussions with men in the group indicated their total lack of awareness of facilities and services. For example, one man's unemployment resulted from the Detroit newspaper strike. In his search for job leads, it had never occurred to him to use the Student Personnel Services Placement Office.

Assuming that adults need help and support, we asked which of several guidance services they would use. Table XIIoutlines their responses.

Table XII
SERVICES NEEDED

SERVICES	NUMBER	PER CENT	DOUBLE CHECKS
Books, pamphlets describing various occupations, salaries, needed education,etc.	233	72%	57
Opportunity to talk individually with trained counselors	226	70%	94
Information regarding job openings	225	70%	44
Place to meet informally over coffee with other people like yourself	142	44%	26
Catalogs of technical schools, community colleges and universities	119	37%	16
Films about different adults contemplating a variety of careers	86	27%	10
Psychotherapy	68	21%	15

The opportunity to talk individually with a trained counselor received the most number of checks and was the second most needed service. It is obvious that the need for a concerned and informed individual is most important in adult education. It is interesting to note that most of the men individually interviewed reported that they first discussed their new career-education plans with someone outside their immediate family. The outsider's response was crucial to their continuing with their plans. Thus the necessity for adequate Guidance and Counseling with its attendant personal concern, testing, and information giving was the most frequently cited need in both solicited and unsolicited comments. Loud and clear in the questionnaires and face to face encounters with the men comes the demand for the trained adult counselor. "Adult development is fact not fancy," and "counselors as advocates" are vital.

Half the respondents would like a place to meet informally with other adults. These men are a pioneering minority in our society, and it could be that real and intangible benefits would accrue from such meetings. One fifth of the men have asked for psychotherapy. Seventy per cent checked the same three items, books and pamphlets; information concerning jobs; and counseling.

In addition to the suggestions gleaned from the survey, the interviews and panel discussions stimulated a variety of recommendations. One man said the questionnaire had "struck a chord." He pointed to the many frustrations an older student faces: rigid admissions procedures, unsympathetic councelors, younger and sometimes arrogant faculty. For example, this particular man was

working at a $20,000 job and was very experienced. But he was required to take a beginning course in his area of competency--a course too elementary for him. He recommended that a special dean be instituted with powers to change rules and regulations to meet adults' special situations.

From their unsolicited comments concerning the academic areas, five felt that course requirements for them should be on a more adult level, five others asked for qualified help with assignments, and reading and study improvement programs. One suggested the possibility of degree acceleration by examination. which leads into the question of transfer and equivalency of credits, an item that looms large in taking adult experience into account. Another voiced the opinion that the gap was wide between the needs of the public and the university's offerings.

Further, there is a feeling that part-time adult night students are victims of lack of information and services. The need for more information about the importance and availability of education was also reiterated in the unsolicited comments. Frequently people who have been employed for some years find the initial steps necessary for returning to school cloaked in an impenetrable fog of hazy demands. Clearer and more specific information could reveal the way. Others felt that many more men would be interested in further education if they were aware of the benefits to be derived from continuing education not only in terms of jobs but also in terms of personal growth.

This would be a good use for the mass media, it was felt. John Tebbel in an article in THE SATURDAY REVIEW says "The communications media should be enlisted by the government in a sustained campaign, like the selling of war bonds, to acquaint parents, students, and all potential employables with the range, nature, and requirements of vocations and professions."[29]

In panel discussions and individual interviews, the men pleaded for some place where they might relax as they come from their job before starting on their classroom work and also for a "decent place to eat." Three men cited the need for financial aid for older people returning to school. It is not known how many men receive financial help from their place of business. In one discussion group it was found that over half was receiving this kind of help.

A theme that ran through all the discussions was the inflexibility of people and requirements. Had it not been for the men's strong motivation they would have been dissuaded. An ombudsman who could protect their rights, a counselor who could hear their plights, and a dean who could make the requirements less tight--this is what they needed and suggested.

Summary of data

As a result of this study just completed on 322 of the 420 matriculated undergraduate adult male students, both expected and unexpected facts were uncovered. Forty is about the average age of the adult male returning to school. He is part-time, working for a degree, and probably a liberal arts student; if not that, an education or business administration student.

Thus far, the surprises are the large percentage of the men (47%) who are in liberal arts programs. As expected the men in school are upwardly mobile. Sixty-eight per cent moved up the scale when compared to their fathers; twenty-seven percent remained at the same level but in these cases their fathers had been upper white collar workers. A small number of men, 5%, experienced downward mobility. Their fathers had been mostly upper white collar workers.

The motivating factors leading men to return showed that job advancement and self development are the major pushes and job and lack of opportunity have been the major deterrents.

The question of age deviancy in an age-conscious society is interesting. Seventy per cent of these men all of whom are over 35 felt that it is best for men to go to college before they are 25. Yet when asked if they thought people considered them old to be in school, 65% said no. Seventy-five per cent of these men felt that by thirty years of age a man should have selected a career. Thus despite their protests, these men think it is better to do things according to an age-clock.

For the most part, the men had family responsibilities, mortgage payments, and outside interests. And though they could not picture themselves "rah-rah partying" they were interested in specialized services, particularly in the area of vocational-educational information counseling. Seventy per cent of the men would like to talk to a trained counselor, 70% want more job information. In addition to personal counseling, the men interviewed cried for flexibility on the part of admissions officers and counselors and faculty.

The men studied have done it on thier own. Is it unreasonable to expect a university to bend, to modify, to assist, to reach out to adults?

III CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A description of a small sample of men can serve a useful function if we allow the description and tables to suggest a framework for looking at adults in general and adult learners in particular. The counclusions discussed in this section emerged from the questionnaires and panel discussions with selected members of the sample.

Conclusion I: Study Adult as Learner

The major conclusion is that the adult as learner often finds himself in a dependent and impotent status in relationship to the university bureacracy of admissions and curriculum. In addition to university hardships, the adult male must intergrate multiple role demands stemming from family and community. Despite the many obstacles several startling facts emerge! The adult male from a working class background has tremendous motivation to study and get credentials. The special meaning of education and job pulls the adult through the difficult period of student learner. The adult as learner needs to be studied.

Conclusion II: Modify Developmental Models in Cyclical Fashion

These males who are going against traditional routes of college early and career stability by thirty suggest that developmental models must be modified. According to Donald Super[28] most adults between thirty and fifty are stabilizing their careers in what he calls the maintenance stage. Our concern, however, is with adults not following the usual pattern but rather those recrystalizing and reexploring future roles approximately fifteen years later than expected. Chronologically, they are at

the maintenance stage, but developmentally they are exploring. But their exploration is qualitatively different from that of the late adolescent. And we have no framework to study those who develop idiosyncratically. Developmental models could provide a more comprehensive backdrop against which to evaluate people if they were cyclical rather than linerar; that is, exploration takes place all through life; its quality and focus might change but the process is the same. The problem with the usual linear approach is clear when applied to adults-in-transition.

A construct useful in integrating developmental career models is that of the Second Career. In a recent discussion of "The Second Career-Variant of Sociological Concept" the authors define career as an "individual's patterned movement between jobs and status over his work life."[9] The second career is not a shift but rather an "entrance into a new career." The authors point out that as the age composition of the society changes, so will the frequency with which men as well as women experience second careers.

Some developmental propositions emerged from the data and need consideration when discussing adult men undergoing change:

1. Self-exploration concerning "Who am I," "Where am I going" continues throughout the life cycle.

2. It is personally, economically, and socially difficult for men to engage in career changes beyond the time when they should be according to themselves and others.

    a. The felt difficulty or stress might be greater the older the man.

    b. The felt difficulty or stress might be greater the lower the social class.

3. Men who actually do engage in change do so when economic, social and personal factors converge.

   a. The work content of previous jobs was not satisfying in that opportunity for felt productivity was absent.

   b. Available environmental alternatives or options have been recently perceived (i.e. paraprofessional job opportunities, work, and scholarship possibilities etc.)

   c. Competency drive is strong in men who change.

   d. Men changing have experienced a "critical incident" directly leading to change.

   e. Men who change feel a discrepancy in how they themselves and the way they had been implementing this through work.

4. Adults who change need encouragement and support in the initial stages of their reexploration.

Conclusion III: Revamp the Bureaucracy

One main conclusion of the study was well stated by Audrey Cohen in a recent discussion of poverty adults vis-a-vis colleges. She writes, "If a mature man or woman overcomes the hurdles of the admissions office and can schedule his life to include college attendance, he confronts the same set of departmentalized courses and the routine requirements, designed for middle-class young people and for the most part unchanged for a generation or more."[3] Thus if we wish to encourage adults as students we need to reassess whether or not our requirements and processes are discouraging rather than encouraging.

Conclusion IV: Establish Adult Counseling Centers

The men confirm what I believe to be true and what former secretary Gardner proposed: that is, "mid-career clinics" or special counseling bureaus for adults are not only necessary but inevitable. Mary Keserling, Head of the Women's Bureau, United States Department of Labor recently said in a speech given at the University of Michigan Center for Continuing Education of Women that the two-year old booklet listing ninety Continuium Centers for Women was so outdated that a new one listing over four hundred such centers would soon be published. Universities are recognizing the needs of adult women. Communities and universities must begin to realize the needs of adults--both men and women. These clinics or centers must not be part of the regular ongoing counseling program. The special feature of the four hundred women's centers is their distinctiveness. As long as adult students and learners are a minority, they need special visibility and concern.

The need for counselors and clincis for men is confirmed by the fact that many of the men attributed lack of guidance and ignorance of opportunities as deterrents to their return (see Table VIII). Alan Entine in describing his New Careers Program, states that many adults are prohibited from seeking changes because of lack of self-knowledge, fear, and no one to help in the whole process of decission-making-placement.[6] Clearly, active counselors are needed to help individuals become aware of themselves, and the world around them.

Let us hope that educators will become facilators of adult growth and development and lead the way for promoting growth-expanding activities. The implications for counseling and testing are tremendous. We can begin helping people dream in elementary school; we can continue stimulating dreams through adulthood. People can have several opportunities to test out the kind of people they are, the kind of life they want to lead. The second career concept opens the door for continued alternatives and possibilities.

How does one conclude a study which is hardly a beginning? This small sample of men is a forerunner of the future. More, not fewer, adults will return to school, change careers, continue developing.

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APPENDIX A

July, 1967

Dear

This letter is a request for your help.

I have become interested - no, fascinated - in adults 35 and older who are continuing to change and develop. A great deal of work has been done on the adult woman reentering the labor market, but practically nothing on the adult male.

Currently 600 males are registered in undergraduate schools at Wayne State University. I am very interested to learn more about this group. Will you help by filling out the enclosed questionnaire and returning it in the stamped, addressed envelop? It should take just a few minutes to complete.

Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated. Thank you in advance.

Sincerely,

Nancy K. Schlossberg
Assistant Professor
Educational Guidance
and Counseling

NKS/vd
Enclosure

July, 1967

Questionnaire for
Adult Men Enrolled
In
The Undergraduate
School of Wayne State University

1. Name:_____ Phone:_____

   Date of birth:_____ Address_____

2. Please list major full-time jobs you have held since your 21st birthday

job	years held

3. Income of current or last job (please check)

   Under $2,500 ___
   Between $2,500 - $5,000 ___
   Between $5,000 - $8,000 ___
   Between $8,000 - $10,000 ___
   Over $10,000 ___

4. If your wife is working, what is her occupation?_____

   _____

5. Father's occupation - job title of his current or last full-time job____

   _____

6. Are you a full-time student? Yes ___ No ___
   If yes, how many credit hours are you taking? ___

7. Are you a candidate for a degree? Yes ___ No ___
   If yes, please answer questions 8 and 9.

8. Please check your college: Liberal Arts ___, Mortuary Science ___, Education ___, Engineering ___, Pharmacy ___, Nursing ___, Business Administration ___, Monteith ___.

9. In what year did you take your first course in your degree program? ____

10. Do you think most people would say you're too old to be in school? Yes__ No ___.

11. What is the best age for men to go to college? ____

12. By what age do you feel most men should select a career? ____

13. If you were to pick the main event which motivated your decision to return to school, what would it be? _____

_____

14. If you were to pick the main thing that kept you from coming to school in the past, what would it be? _____

_____

15. Please check any of the following services which you think most adult men would like to have available for their use. If any seem of particular value, please put a double check mark down.

Books, pamplets describing various occupations, salaries, needed education, etc. ___

Catalogs of technical schools, community colleges, four year colleges and universities ___

Films about different adults contemplating a variety of careers ___

Information about job openings ___

Opportunity to talk individually with a trained counselor ___

Place to meet informally over coffee with other people like yourself ___

Psychotherapy ___

Other (please specify) ___

Thank you for completing this questionnaire.

APPENDIX B

Occupation Code adapted from United States Census Code by the Center for Urban Research, University of Michigan Extension, Dearborn, Mich.

Upper White Collar

0	Professionals
1	Semi-professional, Technical, Kindred
2	Managers, Official and Proprietors

Lower White Collar

3	Clerical and Kindred Workers
4	Sales Workers

Upper Blue Collar

5	Craftsmen, Foremen and Kindred Workers

Lower Blue Collar

6	Operatives and Kindred Workers
7	Private Household and Service Workers
8	Laborers - non-farm and farm

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on Adult Education